3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

671 the Italian example, and a Barrister and Solicitor Law, of 1931, modelled after the Austrian example.

625 The exemplary police and gendarmerie of Albania have been brought to a high degree of discipline and efficiency, the latter especially under the able command of Major General Sir Jocelyn Percy, K.B.E., C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O.

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

Indeed by July the enrolment of supporters had outstripped our capacity to supply them from the stock of weapons locally available; and we saw that it was only by drawing on the arsenals of the Middle East that we might hope to appease their insatiable hunger for arms.

The petty arms traffic we had thus far indulged in had been made possible by the help of friendly Yugoslav officials, acting on their own initiative. We could not hope, however, to run consignments of rifles from the Middle East into Albania without the knowledge and at least the tacit approval of the Yugoslav Government. We had, indeed, counted on some measure of Yugoslav support; for the Albanian revolt had always been considered as a part of the general scheme for the defence of the Balkans against an attack by the Axis Powers. It now appeared that the Belgrade Government were too demoralised by enemy pressure to countenance our plans; and we even began to doubt whether they intended to resist the Germans at all. Accordingly some of us, myself among them, turned increasingly to the task of building up the forces of resistance in Yugoslavia. Thus four years were to go by before I was once more concerned with things Albanian.

2

In August 1940 the direction of the Belgrade branch of the Albanian organisation was entrusted to Lieut.-Colonel Oakley-Hill, who had been for some years an officer in the Corps of Instructors to the Albanian gendarmerie. Hill's name, as we were to learn from personal experience, was a household word among the Ghegs, thanks to his rare command of the Albanian language and his genuine affection for the Albanians. He already knew many of the leading exiles in Belgrade and soon won their confidence by his sincerity and tireless industry on behalf of the Albanian cause. Thus, under his guidance, the work was advanced.

The Albanians had been demoralised by the fall of France, but the reports which reached Belgrade in September showed

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

arouse the suspicion or the greed of the combatants; and it is only a question of chance whether they are shot as spies, murdered for their property, or killed by a stray bullet. In time of revolution, "He that is not with me is against me".

Next day we enjoyed the comforts of Ihsan's house and expounded our inflexible opposition to an anti-Communist front to various lesser politicians who came out from Tirana to meet us. The rest of the time we spent in discussions with Ihsan and his cousin, Liqa, who was renowned as a hunter. Ihsan disapproved of blood sports but, since the *chasse à l'homme* was a frequent feature of Albanian country life, he kept two machine-guns, a mortar, and a stock of hand-grenades in his gun-room as a matter of course. In the house he carried only a light automatic, but when he drove to Tirana, or went for a walk, he armed himself with a Mäuser parabellum. Such precautions seemed incongruous in so civilised a man; but, if blood feuds were less common in the plain than in the mountains, the preventive assassination of opponents was a time-honoured method of government. It was interesting, indeed, to see how centuries of despotic rule had engrained the habits of conspiracy in the life of an Albanian country gentleman. One evening at dinner I heard what I thought was an owl hooting in the garden.

"It must be my cousin Liqa," said Ihsan, going to the French windows, "it is his call."

Sure enough it was.

We left Ihsan[1] by night and set out towards our base, stopping in the mountains above Tirana to meet Jemal Herri. Jemal had once been chief of Zog's secret police; and, along with Muharrem Bairaktar, Prenk Previsi, and Fikri Dine, had formed the quadrumvirate by whose efforts the royal regime had been established. Like his colleagues, he had fallen from favour, but had followed Zog into exile in 1939, returning to Albania in 1941 with Oakley-Hill and the forces of the United Front. Now he stood second to Abas Kupi in the Zogist movement and had built up a small but efficient force of his own,

[1] [i.e. Ihsan Toptani. Cf. cat. 116, p. 185 --Analyst]

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

stiffened by a handful of German deserters and fugitives from the labour gangs of the Todt Organisation. We had not previously met Jemal, for his relations with Abas Kupi were strained, and he had for some time been sulking in his tent. We knew, however, that he was in daily contact with Tirana and were anxious to enlist his support in disrupting the political manœuvres of the Germans.

He[1] entertained us to lunch in the house of a village *hoja* and supplemented the usual hospitality of the mountains with highly spiced Yugoslav dishes specially prepared for us by his Bosnian mistress. In appearance he was a cross between Mussolini and Mephistopheles, with a powerful cast of face, ruthless yet somehow mask-like, malicious, and smooth. His violent temperament was curbed by iron self-control and disguised by an elaborate courtesy which might have seemed unctuous but for a hint of arrogance. In conversation he damned Abas Kupi with faint praise, seeking to drive a wedge between us and suggesting that we should send him supplies as an independent leader. We turned a guarded answer, but prevailed on him to send an urgent message to Fikri Dine, advising him to decline Neubacher's invitation to form a government.

In the afternoon Hare left for Shupal to persuade Abas Kupi to send a similar warning to Fikri. Meanwhile Maclean and I pressed across the valley and reached Bastar about midnight, only to find that Smiley had moved the camp. We therefore rode out along the range and, at 2 A.M., came on the new base, situated by the side of a gurgling stream on the edge of a broad, level clearing in the forest. We roused Smiley from his slumbers and when at last the flow of his curses had subsided he told us that he had good news: Headquarters had telegraphed approving the terms of our agreement with Abas Kupi. Now at last the revolt might begin.

5

NEXT morning, the last of June, we reviewed our situation and judged it satisfactory. Headquarters had already ratified

[1] [i.e. Jemal Herri, former chief of Zogist secret police--Analyst]

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

the matter and asked them to set up the boundary stones where they thought right. But sometimes many lives had been lost in the interval. Once the elders of Bytyç found, when summoned to intervene in a boundary dispute between Gash and Krasniqë, that in two days it had cost the lives of 124 men.

Characteristic processes often marked the arbitration. For example, when two village wards quarrelled in Çermenikë, the chief elders of the village summoned two of the oldest men in each and questioned them separately in the presence of witnesses. If their answers tallied, there could be no more question where the boundary lay. For ratification the old men were asked to walk along it, earth and stone on their shoulder, or to swear formally to its being the correct line. If there were discrepancies in their answers, the dispute was referred to the government authorities in Elbasan or, more probably, to elders from another village. If two villages of Kthellë quarrelled the three bajraktars went with the leading men and a sufficient number of hangers-on to the boundary. One village said where the line was, the other contradicted this. Finally, the most important of the bajraktars, lifting a stone set it on the shoulder of an old, wise, upright man and bade him set it down exactly on the boundary. When he had done so the line was established beyond controversy and no more murder could be done for it.[1]

To begin with the bloodshed method, if different villages or tribes were involved, when men quarrelling over a boundary or shepherds jostling over a grazing ground killed each other at the very time that the boundary was being delimited, there was no more need for elders. The tribal or village boundary was where heaps of stones marked the graves of the murdered men. If it was from a distance that they killed each other, the boundary of each village or tribe was by his grave and the ground in between became the common property of both. If one was only seriously wounded and was able to stagger or roll himself along into the foreign territory before he died, a cairn of stones was piled over him where he died, and though in foreign territory, became the boundary of his village or tribe. Boundaries so established were the most permanent; the

[1] In Mirditë boundary disputes between villages and tribes were sometimes decided with bloodshed or a rock, obviously very primitive methods. Indeed the latter, a glorification of physical strength, seems to antedate the discovery of gunpowder.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

of theft which were no less universally regarded as shameful. A man who stole from another with whom he had broken bread as host or guest disgraced himself for ever. A woman must not steal for fun or spite. If she did, not only her husband's family, but the whole village felt ashamed and took steps to deal with her.

The accomplice who helped the thief, the host who fed him and the receiver who hid the booty were all considered as no less guilty than the thief himself. 'A thief and his host are the same', and 'Like thief, like receiver' were common sayings. All had to suffer punishment in proportion to their share in the crime and booty. The owner of stolen goods had the right to remove them from the premises of a receiver and to claim compensation, and the receiver had no legal claim for redress as against the thief. On the other hand, if a man bought stolen goods in good faith he had to give them back to the rightful owner, but he was entitled to recover what he had paid for them from the thief.

All possible means of protection against theft were adopted by the mountain peoples. Every man carried a gun by day, and slept with it beside him at night. Dogs were kept in every house and sheepfold. Domestic animals were branded with a mark that could not be destroyed, as when sheep had both their ears notched. Farmyards were surrounded by walls too high to scale and had stout wooden gates heavily bolted at night. Thieves, however, could make holes in the mud and stone walls, and frequently forced an entry that way. The walls of many village shops were lined with wood, so that a thief's chisel, striking it, would make sufficient noise to put the householder on the alert.

In Turkish times many villages sent out armed patrols every night, composed not of professionals like the night watchman of the towns, but of unpaid villagers who served in turn as directed by the village headman. When there was danger of sheep-stealing on a large scale, the threatened villages sometimes bought the protection of some strong man. For example, the villagers of Reç, now in Yugoslavia, hired protection from sheep-stealers of Dibër by paying the Kaloshi family of Dibër a thousand napoleons a year. Nor were the parties deterred from contracting together by the fact that the Kaloshis were Moslems and Albanians, and the villagers of Reç were Orthodox and Macedonian Bulgars.

In the extreme north and south of the mountains, guns could legitimately be used when a thief was caught in the act of breaking

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

[681] bajraktar, are perpetual like the law about fire[1] and other laws. Whoever breaks this law must pay an ox to the tribe and 300 grosh and a ram to the government's representative, otherwise he will have his house burned.

The Youth of Shalë
April 30th, 1905

XI. Laws Enacted by the Tribe of Kurbin on August 5–7, 1906.

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanun*, p. 129.)

[625] 1. Whoever joins the government police shall have his house burned and be excluded from funeral gatherings and hospitality.

[798] 2. A man who goes to complain to the Turkish government about a Christian shall pay a fine of 1000 grosh.

[695] 3. A man who steals from his neighbour or breaks into his house must, if he denies doing so, give his oath with 12 compurgators. If he proves to be a robber, he must pay a fine of 1000 grosh, and return to the owner of the house two for every article stolen.

4. If an ox is stolen and the accused denies the theft he must give his oath with 6 compurgators. If on enquiry he proves a thief, he must pay a fine of 500 grosh and return to the animal's owner two oxen for the one stolen.

This judgement holds also for a horse and a mule.

If a cow is stolen and the theft denied, the accused's oath needs three compurgators. If he proves a thief the penalty is returning two for one to the owner and a fine of 250 grosh. So too for a donkey.

If a bell-goat or a bell-wether is stolen two for one to the owner and a fine of three rams. If the theft is denied the oath must be given by the accused and all the males in his house.

For every small animal two for one to the owner and a fine of two rams. If the theft is denied the oath is with all the males in the accused's house.

5. Setting fire to a house[2] means a fine of 2500 grosh; to an animals' fold, a haystack and a hedge, a fine of 1500 grosh and returning two for one to the owner.

[623] 6. A man who does not come to a General Assembly when summoned by the village elder will be fined one ram.

[692] 7. If word is sent to the elders to come to a General Assembly anyone who does not come must pay a fine of five rams. If he has an excuse this will be weighed by the other elders.

[1] The Italian version already alluded to (Gjeçov's *Codice di Lek Dukagjini ossia Diritto Consuetudinario delle Montagne d'Albania*, Tradotto dal P. Paolo Dodaj, Roma, 1941) here reads *il mugnaio*, 'the miller' (cf. supra p. 263).

[2] The Italian version reads *La violazione (per furto) del focolare domestico*, and taking fire from a neighbour's hearth without permission is frequently taboo among primitive peoples.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl
[Laws Enacted by the Tribe of Kurbin, Aug. 5-7, 1906]

8. As for jurors, in every crime committed in Kurbin, a murder excepted, the jurors must give their oath, saying, 'That it has been stolen from you, I don't know'.[1] 681 [695]

9. What an informant says is said with an oath of how it was in mind.[2]

10. If a man quarrels deliberately with another and without informing the village elder, he will be fined 500 grosh.

If he informs the village elder and the latter asks for a pledge of good behaviour from the one who is oppressing the other and this man refuses to give it, he will be fined 500 grosh.

If the village elder cannot put things right he gives both men a month's grace and informs the other elders who shall settle the quarrel in accordance with the local law.

11. Anyone who gives food or admittance to his house to a Christian or a Mohammedan who is a policeman in the service of the Sultan shall be fined 1500 grosh. [625] [574]

12. If a man breaks a pledge of security given and taken in the presence of elders and commoners in Kurbin, the elders and commoners are under an obligation to burn his house and to expel him from the tribe. [696]

Written in Delbinisht, Kurbin, at the spring of water under the mulberry tree near the Archbishop's palace on August 5th, 6th and 7th, 1906.

Gjin Pjetër Mark Pervizi of Skuraj, Kurbin, senior elder among the 45 elders of the environs of Krue, in the name of the elders and commoners.

Also present at this General Assembly and registrars of the aforesaid laws:

Mgr. Nikollë Kaçorri, witness.

Father Shtjefën K. Gjeçov, Franciscan, witness.

XII. Letter from Shalë dated May 12th, 1907.

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanûn*, p. 127.)

1. Greetings from the bajraktar of Shalë, the notables and youth to you, chiefs and youth of Theth. We beg to inform you that the undermentioned laws have been enacted by the tribe of Lower Shalë. We let you know, asking if you too will abide by these laws. We laid down the

[1] The Italian version of clause 8 runs: *Il dovere del giurato per tutto ciò che accada nel territorio di Kurbini, salvo che nelle cause di uccisione, consiste nel giuramento di non cognoscere il colpevole.*

[2] The Italian translator has *La deposizione del delatore deve essere accompagnata dal giuramento.*

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made it necessary for me to alight and push—getting thoroughly splashed by the whizzing wheels while doing so—and when at last, after almost superhuman exertions, we gained the main road, the radiator was steaming like a house on fire, and so was I. Further on a river barred our way, but a crude ferry worked by a wire rope was plying across the deepest part. Albanians, wearing the jackets with black fringes and black woollen boss s, by which I afterwards learned to distinguish the Ghegs from the Toscs (the two main divisions of the population) waded waist-high in the stream and manœuvred us to a spot whence we were able to drive through the flood in two or three feet of water and reach the roadway on the other side.

We travelled on through level country where the fields were green with crops and gay with scarlet poppies. Here and there I saw men, in the white clothing of the Albanian peasant, carrying rifles, and I remembered the tales I had heard of Albanians working in the fields with rifles slung at their backs. The custom still survives, but only in the mountainous country north of Scutari where lawlessness is rife and weapons have to be carried for protection. Elsewhere the law forbidding the carrying of firearms is strictly enforced, and armed peasants working in the fields are no longer seen. In fact, I was told that those I saw near Scutari were probably civilian police who assist the regular police in keeping order and are only on this account permitted to carry arms.

The rain had stopped and the setting sun was shining

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asked the two officers what they were doing there and received the reply I expected. I gathered, however, that their future was somewhat uncertain, since the Albanian Government was slow in carrying out promises in regard to pay, and even the money to cover sundry disbursements inevitable to the proper discharge of their duties was so far not forthcoming. In their company I dined one evening as the guest of the prefect of Scutari at, of all places, the Grand Hotel, and, to my intense surprise, the dinner was excellent in every way. That it was possible to galvanise the hotel staff into producing it was a convincing proof of the special powers possessed by our host, and I mentally took off my hat to him. The prefect of Scutari was evidently no ordinary man. The position, however, apart from minor matters such as dinner-giving, is really a responsible one and calls for special qualifications, for Scutari abuts on the

DRAWING WATER

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
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To the Land of the Eagle

625 wild and lawless country on the borders of Montenegro and to the prefect is allotted the difficult task of maintaining 000 order there. This part of Albania, which is exceedingly mountainous and extends northwards to the Serbian border, is the part which is most often visited by travellers and most frequently described in books of travel. Indeed, it is a matter of complaint amongst Albanians that so many books are published which deal with this particular portion of the country—a portion by no means representative of the whole—and convey the impression that all Albania is similar to it. My original intention had been to cross the border from Kolašin, in Montenegro, and travel down through this mountainous country to Scutari, but I was dissuaded by the Governor of Cettinje, who declared that it would be very unwise to attempt such a journey on account of the danger of being attacked by brigands, and although the idea of being attacked by brigands—so romantic and such excellent " copy "—rather appealed to me, I was not anxious to share the fate of two Americans who had recently been killed there. Afterwards I regretted that I had been induced to change my plans, for I learned that the two Americans had accidentally walked into an ambush that was intended for somebody else and that I might have made the trip with safety.

114 Those who want to know about these highlands of Albania will find a vivid description of them in " High Albania " by Miss Durham, a book which was written a year or two 000 before the war. At that time the blood-feud and the

175 a few roads and bridges, and found time to do some anthropometry.

642 After the war Albania became a republic, with a parliament. Feudal and tribal, illiterate and immobilized by the lack of roads, the people were not prepared for self-government.

643 After a number of violent episodes Ahmed Zog, son of the *kaivakstar* of Mat in the tribe of Mati, became dictator, and in 1929 proclaimed himself king. Hated by the people of Elbasan because he had jilted the daughter of Verlatsi, their most prominent citizen, he was despised by his fellow mountaineers and by the Tosks as well, most of whom saw in his rule a threat to their freedom. On the rare occasions when he dared leave his palace, he had all roofs and windows searched and guarded, and even the cypress trees searched; and then he sent a double ahead of him.

He did, however, make a number of wise moves. One was to employ Colonel Stirling, famed as a companion of Lawrence in Arabia, as his personal adviser. Another was to employ General von Mirdach of the Austrian army to set up his military machine. A third was to give the British General Percy a free

● 625 hand in organizing a gendarmerie. General Percy brought with him a staff of British officers, which included Colonel Martin and Major Glegg. These experienced men selected an elite group of mountaineers to police the highroads, and to report and put down trouble. For the first time in history someone was taking intelligent steps to rid the mountains of feuding.

[124] We measured 62 of these gendarmes, all local men. Twenty-one came from Luma, 17 from Mati, 10 from Puka, 6 from Malsia e Jakovës, 4 from Dibra, 3 from Dukagin, and one from Malsia e Madhe. The British officers very wisely used Ghegs in Gheg country. To have introduced outsiders would have made trouble. Many of the men were serving within their own tribes and *bairaks*; too often they were in blood elsewhere. This new occupation for mountaineers gave them a chance to see more of the world than before, for they were required to train in Tirana or Scutari. Although the gendarme system made little or no direct change in the genetics of the mountaineers, for these men marry as their fathers

3 [World War I -- Analysis]

625 did, it let in new traders, craftsmen, and government officials, by the mere fact that the gendarmes secured the road and put down banditry.

631 643 In a vain attempt to deal the tribal system a deathblow, King Zog abolished all of the old divisions and boundaries, and all of the old system of government. He divided Albania into provinces, deliberately cutting across tribes and *bairaks* and ignoring natural geographical frontiers as completely as did the 1913 boundary commission. Kukës and Peshkopia became centers of administration, as did a remote hamlet in Mati named Bureli. In these new places he set up prefects and secretaries and soldiers.

124 We measured one "secretary of commune" in Mirdita, whom the tribesmen ignored. He was a native of Elbasan. He employed a local man to guard the telephone line, his only link with the extra-feudal world. In Bureli we measured a secretary of court and a schoolteacher, both Mati natives. Others whom we did not measure were outsiders. In Kukës we measured a government clerk, a schoolteacher, and a turnkey in the jail. In Peshkopia our score was 3 government clerks, 2 Big Dibra men and one local; a secretary of court, from Big Dibra; and a local country schoolteacher.

These 7 civil service employees whom we included in our series were all the products of the imposition of Zog's government on the Mountain Ghegs. Of these only 4 came from outside the area. Three of these were part of the group that fled Big Dibra after 1913.

000 The history of the mountain people of northern Albania since 1930, while interesting, is beyond the scope of this report. Some later anthropologist may study it with profit to discover the changes, technological, institutional, and anatomical, which may have taken place since our series was measured. Before moving on, we offer the following summary of the preceding chapters:

105

1. As far as we know these mountains were uninhabited before 500 B.C. They were first effectively settled at this time or a little later by Illyrian-speaking Hallstatt Iron Age people moving southward and eastward from Bosnia.

2. The majority of the Hallstatt people in

2/1 [See cat 116, pp. 3b-46a--Analyst] -47a

1 [See cat 116, p. 46a--Analyst]